1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

because it is due to him, but because it is a gesture of polite generosity to one who is living in their village. 423

In the past the land owned by members of the clan had no utilitarian function. It was merely land with which one had close totemic connections and where one's *gas* or double dwelt. It was never planted on or built upon because the native was afraid of the *tsinanis* animals and *gas*. But with the coming of the white man and his coconut plantations this custom has been changed. The native saw the white man plant on the *tsinanis* land and saw also that nothing disastrous happened; so he lost his fear and now plants on it, although he retains his belief in the *gas* and *tsinanis* animals. Sometimes this clan land is too far away from its owners for them to plant it, so people of other clans, who may live close to it, will make their gardens there. If they have a large crop, these people will usually give a portion of it to the real owners, and should the land be sold to the white man, those who have gardens on it are entitled to a share of the payment. But they are not considered the real owners, for while they may have their gardens on the land, they may not bequeath it at their death. The land automatically is bequeathed to the clan descendants of the members who own the land. The ownership of this clan land never passes out of the hands of those members who have totemic and clan association with it. 423 178 311

However, there are ways of circumventing temporarily this traditional rule, and one example of such circumvention came to my notice. A man named Noas, who belonged to the *Tsililia* clan, at the time of his father's death made a payment for his father's clan land (on which he wanted to plant) to the members of his father's clan, which was *Sinpop*, and to which the land would naturally have belonged. At Noas' death the land will go back to the *Sinpop* clan, the members of which will make a return payment to the members of Noas' clan. This is the only case I found in which one individual, rather than a group, was considered an owner, 423 425

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

The record depends entirely on the information given me by mothers who named their children in the order in which they were born, and then described those who died by saying "died while still breast-feeding", or "died after having finished with breast-feeding". Others standing by refreshed the memory of a mother as to names of children and approximate age at death when she appeared uncertain. Relatively few mothers had to be assisted in this way, but in one or two villages the information is not to be relied upon.

On looking down this column one finds that deaths during lactation are more numerous in some villages than in others, e.g., seven villages on the lower road between Kandan and Karu average 33 per cent. of issue dying during lactation. It is in this vicinity that the high central range runs close to the coast, its slopes falling abruptly down to the water's edge where the villages are built usually on coral cliffs. The cold mountain winds and rains sweep through them day and night, producing a climatic condition of sudden changes from heat to cold, which must be exceedingly dangerous for people who live there practically in nakedness. The garden lands are scattered all over the place, mostly on the steep mountain sides, and garden work is probably more strenuous than it is in the districts nearer to Kavieng, especially for pregnant women, or women nursing children that have to be carried about by their mothers when working in their gardens or looking for shell fish in the sea. I saw infants being fed on solid foods, and it was quite a common thing to meet pregnant women or women with babies trudging up and down the mountain sides on their way to and from the gardens, with enormous bags of food, and infants sitting on top of the bags. On discussing with the men the question of women resting while pregnant, I was told that the women insist on doing their share of the work at this period for fear of being shamed by other women, especially the older ones, who laugh at them if they become more careful with pregnancy and talk in a superior way of what women did and endured in olden times. At the same time, my informant pointed out, a husband steps in and relieves his wife as much as possible of heavy work during the period of gestation and lactation. I was also told that men try to keep their wives out of the water during these periods by doing more shell-fishing themselves. This may be so in a few individual cases, but I am inclined to think that most of the women have to bear their burden alone, and, as the conditions of life are rather too strenuous at this end of the road for child-bearing women, the health of both the mother and the child suffers, with disastrous results to the child. This, to my mind, accounts for the low issue rate and heavy infant mortality rate in this group of villages. Being situated where they are, far from any plantation and over 100 miles from the Medical Officer at Kavieng, places them out of reach of the present medical service, which is not able to cope

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

unless the native officials have the confidence of their people. Any system lacking these conditions would lead to extortion, &c., and ultimately create general depression wherever faults existed.

Given a suitable staff of native officials and thorough supervision, local administration by native representatives is, in my opinion, eminently suited to the present condition of native development. The whole population is thus divided into a number of relatively discreet groups, each of which attends to its local affairs and leaves serious matters to the supervising district officials for adjustment. This keeps the district officials intimately in touch with the pulse of their district and enables them to detect in its earliest stage any element likely to threaten the general harmony of the district. Especially will it keep their attention constantly on the sensitive chain binding together the interests of European and native residents, on the stability of which depends the future of the population.

LAND ALIENATION.

In considering the question whether the land available is sufficient for the needs of the population one is hampered at the outset by the absence of reliable information as to the area now remaining the property of any particular village. All we have to guide us is the map of the district, which shows the area of alienated land and leaves the balance as village-owned land. But how this area is distributed amongst the village groups that inhabit the road we cannot tell, as village areas are not surveyed. In some cases, especially between Madina and Kavieng, there does not appear to be a very great area of suitable ground available for native garden expansion, and within this boundary in one or two places, where alienated land thrusting to the coast divides village-owned land, people are forced to walk through plantations to reach their gardens lying beyond. In certain cases, too, the close proximity of planted areas to villages has led to the destruction of village pigs whose owners have failed to keep them from straying on the plantations. In any case, in the absence of a survey of lands now remaining the property of natives, it is not desirable that any further alienation of coastal land shall take place between Kavieng and Malom, and in the event of applications being received for land between Malom and Karu a thorough investigation should be made in regard to the general needs of the villagers before such applications be considered.

ROADS.

One of the most important factors in the welfare of these people is time and opportunity for garden work. Under present conditions each village has a certain mileage of road to keep in order for motor traffic. I am of opinion that the question of road work should form the subject of a special inquiry by the District Officer, especially as to the proportion allotted to each village in relation to its able-bodied